

by the agricultural census of New York—(since made)—so far as the State is concerned; and in fact, generally confirmed by all sorts of evidence, so far as any exists.

In the returns of hemp and flax raised in Virginia, there is an evident blunder of the Deputy Marshals in the counties of Bedford, Prince William, Lee and Lewis: where *hundred weights* reported, seem to have been set down as *tons*. With this exception, no great errors appear. We have made the correction in our calculations; but enormous as the error seems to be, it might stand without materially varying the comparative results.

By estimating the value of the yearly products of each State, and dividing the same by the number of persons employed in making those products, we find the average value produced by each person; and by comparing the results of the calculation for the several States, we discover the comparative productiveness of Agricultural labor in the States. This is what we want for our argument.

Professor Tucker, late of the University of Virginia, in his useful book, on the Progress of Population, &c., has given in detail a calculation of this sort. He was certainly not partial to the North in his estimates. We have carefully examined them; and think that his valuations of products are in some particulars erroneous. We think, also, that he has omitted some elements necessary to an accurate result. We have therefore in our own calculations arrived at results somewhat different from his; yet so far as our argument is concerned, the difference is immaterial. We can therefore assure you, fellow-citizens, that no sort of calculation, founded on any thing like truth or reason, can bring out a result materially different from ours.

We have not room here for the particulars that enter into the calculations; we can only give the results themselves.

The general results, according to both Mr. Tucker and ourselves, are as follows: In New England, agricultural industry yields an annual value, averaging about one hundred and eighty dollars to the hand, that is, for each person employed.

In the middle States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the average is about two hundred and sixty-five or two hundred and seventy dollars to the hand.

In the old slave States, South of the Potomac, the average is about 130 dollars to the hand. This, according to our calculation, is rather above the average for East Virginia, but below that for West Virginia. The average for all Virginia is about 138 dollars.

Thus it appears by the best evidence which the case admits of, that the farmers of the middle States, with their free labor, produce more than twice as great a value to the hand, as the farmers and planters of the old slave States; and that even the New Englanders, on their poor soils and under their wintry sky, make nearly forty per cent more, to the hand, than the old Southerners make in the "sunny South," with the advantage of their valuable staples, cotton and tobacco.

In Maryland, the result is intermediate between the average of the North and that of the South; and this agrees strikingly with her condition as a half-slave State; for lower Maryland is cultivated by negroes, and has a languishing agriculture, as well as a stationary population; but upper Maryland is cultivated by free labor, and has a thriving agriculture with a growing population.

These results, founded on the best evidence, and confirmed by general observation, are for substance undeniably correct, and cannot be overthrown.

Now it is admitted on all hands, that slave labor is better adapted to agriculture, than to any other branch of industry; and that, if not good for agriculture, it is really good for nothing.

Therefore, since in agriculture, slave labor is proved to be far less productive than free labor, *slavery is demonstrated to be not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to the public prosperity.*

We do not mean that slave labor can never earn anything for him that employs it. The question is between free labor and slave labor. He that chooses to employ a sort of labor, that yields only half as much to the hand as another sort would yield, makes a choice that is not only unprofitable, but deeply injurious to his interest.

Agriculture in the slave States may be characterized in general by two epithets—*extensive—exhaustive*—which in agricultural countries forbade two things—*improvement—depopulation*. The general system of slaveholding farmers and planters, in all times and places, has been, and now is, and ever will be, to cultivate much land, badly, for present gain—in short, to kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

They cannot do otherwise with laborers who work by compulsion, for the benefit only of their masters; and whose sole interest in the matter is, to do as little and to consume as much as possible.

This ruinous system of large farms cultivated by slaves, showed its effects in Italy, 1800 years ago, when the Roman empire was at the height of its grandeur.

Pliny, a writer of that age, in his Natural History, (Book 18, ch. 1-7,) tells us, that while the small farms of former times were cultivated by freemen, and even great commanders did not disdain to labor with their own hands, agriculture flourished, and provisions were abundant; but that afterwards, when the lands were engrossed by a few great proprietors, and cultivated by fettered and branded slaves, the country was ruined, and corn had to be imported.

The same system was spreading ruin over the empire, and thus the prosperity of the empire was undermined. Pliny denounces the worst of all, the system of having large estates in the country cultivated by slaves, or, indeed, says he, "no *any thing* done by men who labor without hope of reward."

So Livy, the great Roman historian, observed, some years before Pliny, (Book 6, ch. 12,) that "innumerable multitudes of men formerly inhabited those parts of Italy, where, in his time, none but slaves redeemed the country from desertion;"—that is, a dense population of free laborers had been succeeded by a sparse population of slaves.

Now if any man deny that this sufficient degree of truth can be deduced from the census, he is bound to sustain his denial, by convincing the census of a greater amount of error than we have made allowance for; and that too, in the very same returns that we use in our calculations. But no man alive can do this; for these returns are incomparably the best evidence that exists on the subject, and are substantially confirmed

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

LOUISVILLE, KY.: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1847.

NUMBER 24.

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH.

After the organization of the meeting Mr. Clay rose and addressed it substantially as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The day is dark and gloomy, unrelieved and uncertain, like the condition of our country, in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with various apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union.

I consider these circumstances, and I present myself before you. No ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, whilst a single pulsation of human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of my country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private citizen, and an expression of the views and opinions I entertain, might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it.

I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a speech, or any such thing. I have brought with me no rhetorical bouquets to throw into this assemblage. In the circle of the year, autumn has come, and the progress of flowers has passed away. In the progress of years, autumn has gone by, and I too am in the autumn of life, and feel the frost of age. My desire and aim is to address you, earnestly, calmly, seriously, and plainly, upon a grave and momentous subject which has brought me here. I am most solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union.

War, pestilence, and famine, are the three great calamities which can befall our species; and war, as the most dreadful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for a while, though inevitable, are the visitations of Providence, to which it is our duty to bow with obedience, humble submission and resignation. Their duration is not in our power, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great afflictions and deliverance to our society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. It is the greatest calamity which can befall our species; and war, as the most dreadful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for a while, though inevitable, are the visitations of Providence, to which it is our duty to bow with obedience, humble submission and resignation. Their duration is not in our power, and their ravages are limited. 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